

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GEORGETOWN 2021

LIMDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GY UNGA

SUBJECT FONMIN WILLS COMMENTS ON UNGA PERFORMANCE

REF: GEORGETOWN 1963

SUMMARY: FINMIN WILLS AND I HAVE DISCUSSED HIS UNGA STATEMENTS ON COUTHERN AFRICA AND "DESTABILIZATION." HE SAID HE THOUGHT HE HAD HANDLED THE LATTER ISSUE EXACTLY AS HE HAD TOLD ME HE WOULD.I AGREED THAT, IN A PROCEDURAL SENSE, HE WAS CORRECT, BUT THAT THE TONE OF HIS REMARKS HAD APPEARED ABRASIVE TO OUR EARS. ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE APPROACH HE TOOK HAD BEEN WORKED OUT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "FRONT-LINE" STATES. HE ADMITTED THAT THE "DESTABILIZATION" ISSUE WAS BOTH A WORRY AND A TOOL FOR THE GOG. IN THE LATTER SENSE IT WAS USEFUL IN FORCING CHEDDI JAGAN
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AND HIS PARTY CLOSER TO THE GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH

THE CRASH OF THE CUBAN AIRLINER HAS GIVEN OUR EFFORTS A TEMPORARY SETBACK, I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE DAMPENED DOWN SIGNIFICANTLY THE "DESTABILIZATION" ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

1. I CALLED ON FONMIN WILLS DURING THE AFTERNOON OF OCT 6 TO DISCUSS HIS SPEECHES AT THE UNITED NATIONS. OUR CONVERSATION WAS SOMEWHAT DISJOINTED DUE TO SEVERAL TELEPHONE CALLS HE RECEIVED CONCERNING THE CRASH OF THE CUBANA AIRLINES FLIGHT THAT AFTERNOON. WE DID, HOWEVER, COVER THOSE PORTIONS OF HIS SPEECH ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND ON DESTABILIZATION.

2. SOUTHERN AFRICA. I TOLD WILLS I THOUGHT HE HAD BEEN OVERLY NEGATIVE IN HIS REFERENCES TO RHODESIA AND THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS TO WORK OUT A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION. HE INSISTED THAT HIS WORDS SIGNIFIED NO REFLECTION ON THE SECRETARY'S MOTIVES IN MAKING THE PEACE INITIATIVE. HE THEN CONFIRMED, HOWEVER, THAT HIS SPEECH HAD BEEN COORDINATED WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES (SEE REFTEL. IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT HE WOULD SAY THINGS THAT THOSE GOVERNMENTS WANTED EXPRESSED BUT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES COULD NOT BE SAID BY THEIR OFFICIALS. THEY WERE CONCERNED, AS WAS GUYANA, THAT SMITH AND VORSTER WOULD TRY TO DELAY AND EVENTUALLY WEASEL OUT OF THE AGREEMENT. ALSO, THE AFRICANS AND GUYANA WANTED TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THERE WOULD BE NO RELAXATION OF PRESSURE AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A RESULT OF COMPROMISE IN RHODESIA. HE REPEATED AGAIN THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF DEPRECIATING THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES ALTHOUGH HE REMAINS SKEPTICAL CONCERNING SMITH'S WILLINGNESS TO GO THE FULL WAY.

3. DESTABILIZATION. WILLS EXPRESSED SURPRISE OVER MY CONCERN ABOUT THIS REMARKS ON DESTABILIZATION AND INSISTED THAT HE HAD TREATED THE MATTER JUST AS HE HAD TOLD ME EARLIER THAT HE WOULD. HE DID NOT NAME THE UNITED STATES NOR DID HE TRY TO ENTER THE ISSUE ON THE AGENDA; HOWEVER, THE "FIRST COMMITTEE" WILL CONSIDER THE MATTER. HE INSISTED THAT THE CONCEPT OF HAVING THE UNITED NATIONS TAKE COGNIZANCE OF VARIOUS KINDS OF DESTABILIZATION IS A VALID ONE. IT WAS TOTALLY IN KEEPING WITH THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WHICH ALSO OPPOSED INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. THE UNITED STATES HAD LESS REASON TO BE SENSITIVE ABOUT THE LIST
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OF ACTIONS THAT COULD BE CLASSIFIED AS DESTABILIZATION THAN DID THE SOVIET UNION. AS FOR THE REFERENCE TO CHILE, ONE COULD HARDLY DISCUSS DESTABILIZATION WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FALL OF ALLENDE. HE HAD SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED THE CABINET DECISION TO TAKE THE DESTABILIZATION MATTER TO THE UN AND, HE SAID, BELIEVED THAT HE HAD DONE SO WITH A MINIMUM OF FUSS.

4. I SHOWED WILLS THE EXCERPTS FROM HIS INTERVIEW WITH PRELA'S

JORGE LUNA (STATE 228701). AFTER READING IT, HE SAID IT WAS FULL OF DISTORTIONS. WILLS SAID THAT THE WRITER, IN DESCRIBING WILLS' COMMENTS, HAD EXAGGERATED AND IN SOME CASES ADDED THINGS WILLS HAD NOT SAID. FOR EXAMPLE, WILLS DENIED HAVING MENTIONED CUBA, JAMAICA AND GUYANA BY NAME AS BEING THE PRIMARY DESTABILIZATION TARGETS IN THE CARIBBEAN.

5. DURING A SUBSEQUENT MEETING ON OCT 7 TO DISCUSS THE CRASH OF THE CUBAN AIRLINER (SEPTTEL), WILLS AND I RETURNED TO THE DESTABILIZATION ISSUE. UNDER SOME PROBING FROM ME, WILLS ADMITTED THAT GUYANA'S MOTIVES IN PUSHING THE DESTABILIZATION MATTER IN INTERNATIONAL FORA WERE STRONGLY, BUT NOT ENTIRELY, INFLUENCED BY DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. GUYANA HAS TWO SEPARATE AND DISTINCT RACIAL GROUPS. BURNHAM IS TRYING TO BRING INDO-GUYANESE TO HIS SUPPORT. IN THE PAST HE HAD SOUGHT TO ATTRACT CONSERVATIVE INDO-GUYANESE BUT HAD FAILED. DURING THE PAST YEAR, HE HAD BEEN ATTEMPTING TO USE JAGAN TO ATTRACT SUPPORT FROM SOME INDO-GUYANESE. BY CO-OPTING A FEW LEADERS, HE HOPED TO ATTRACT PART OF JAGAN'S CONSTITUENCY.

6. WILLS ASSERTED THAT THE INTERNAL STABILITY OF GUYANA, IN A CULTURAL SENSE, WAS FRAGILE. BALWANT SINGH AND HIS CONSERVATIVE INDIAN ORGANIZATION WERE ATTEMPTING TO CREATE DISORDERS. IF OUTSIDERS WERE TO GIVE IMPETUS TO THESE EFFORTS, BURNHAM WOULD HAVE AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT PROBLEM ON HIS HANDS. HENCE "DESTABILIZATION," WILLS SAID, WAS A WORRY AS WELL AS A TOOL.

7. COMMENT: THE DESTABILIZATION ISSUE, UNLESS IT GETS A STIMULUS FROM UNFORESEEN ACCIDENTS, APPEARS TO BE FADING. UNFORTUNATELY THE CUBAN AIRLINE CRASH HAS RETARDED THE PROCESS SOMEWHAT BY STIRRING GUYANESE FEARS OF CUBAN EXILES, IF NOT OF THE U.S. IN COMPARING WILLS' PRE-UNGA STATEMENTS TO ME WITH HIS ACTUAL PERFORMANCE, I FIND FEW DISCREPANCIES. THE SKEPTICISM, CONFIDENTIAL

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BORDERING ON NEGATIVISM, IN HIS SEPT 27 SPEECH CONCERNING THE SECRETARY'S SOUTHERN AFRICAN INITIATIVES CONSTITUTES, IN MY VIEW, THE MAJOR DISCREPANCY. HIS WORDS ON DESTABILIZATION WERE SHARPER THAN HE HAD INDICATED THEY WOULD BE. HIS SECOND STATEMENT (SEPT 30) ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN MATTERS MADE CLEAR THAT THE GOG SEES "POTENTIAL" IN THE FRAMEWORK ESTABLISHED BY THE SECRETARY. I INTEND TO CONTINUE TO REMIND WILLS OF APPARENT INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN WHAT HE SAYS HE WILL DO AND WHAT HE DOES. BLACKEN

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